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Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

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O 281330Z AUG 76
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2494

S E C R E T DAR ES SALAAM 3136

NODIS/CHEROKEE

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM ROGERS AND SCHAUFELE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2
TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE

1. WE MET WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE, FOREIGN MINISTER KADUMA, AND PRESIDENT'S SECRETARY BUTIKU FOR ONE AND ONE-HALF HOURS. ON OUR DEPARTURE, NYERERE GAVE US A WRITTEN MEMORANDUM REGARDING SOUTHERN AFRICA AND A SEALED MESSAGE FOR YOU WHICH MAY BE A PHOTOGRAPH, BOTH OF WHICH ROGERS IS BRINGING BACK WITH HIM.

2. AFTER THANKING HIM ON YOUR BEHALF FOR THE MEETING, WE WENT THROUGH THE TALKING POINTS. ROGERS INTERPOLATED A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF OUR MEETING WITH SWAPO LEADERSHIP IN LUSAKA AND YOUR OWN FUTURE PLANS. THE PRESIDENT CONFIRMED THAT HE WOULD BE AVAILABLE AND DELIGHTED TO SEE YOU.

3. REGARDING NAMIBIA, HE THOUGHT THERE WASN'T MUCH DIFFICULTY. THE FIRST PROBLEM WAS IDEOLOGICAL AS LONG AS SOUTH AFRICA DID NOT AGREE TO INDEPENDENCE. NOW THAT THE FACT OF INDEPENDENCE HAS APPARENTLY BEEN ACCEPTED, THE PROBLEM IS ONE OF METHODOLOGY, HOW DO WE "UNHOOK" SOUTH AFRICA FROM THE CONSTIUTIONAL CONFERENCE? SWAPO EXISTS AS A NATIONAL MOVEMENT RECOGNIZED BY THE UN AND OAU. THEREFORE, THE NEXT STEP IS FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO SIT DOWN WITH SWAPO AND AGREE ON THE METHODOLOGY BY WHICH NAMIBIA WOULD BECOME INDEPENDENT. IF THE TALKS ARE MOVED TO GENEVA AND IT IS NECESSARY
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FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO CHARACTERIZE THEM AS A CONTINUATION OF THE

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WINDHOEK CONFERENCE, THAT IS QUITE ACCEPTABLE AND HE WOULD SAY AS MUCH TO SWAPO. THERE WAS NO INDICATION THAT HE THOUGHT THE ISSUES RAISED WITH US IN LUSAKA, I.E., REMOVAL OF SAG MILITARY FORCES, RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS, PARTICIPATION OF THE UN, SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS PRECONDITIONS TO MEETING IN GENEVA. INDEED, HE GAVE IMPRESSION THAT HE WOULD ARGUE OTHERWISE. WE TOLD HIM HOW WE HAD PUT THESE MATTERS TO SWAPO IN LUSAKA AND HE DID NOT DISSENT.

4. IN HIS VIEW THE ESSENTIAL THING IS THAT SWAPO AND SAG ORGANIZE THE MEANS TOWARD INDEPENDENCE FOR THE REALIZATION OF THE AIMS OF UN RESOLUTIONS, SCHAUFELE INTERJECTED THAT SOUTH AFRICA COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO TAKE THE POSITION THAT IT IS IMPLEMENTING UN RESOLUTIONS. NYERERE SAID HE DIDN'T CARE AS LONG AS THE END WAS ACHIEVED. ON THIS BASIS NYERERE IS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT NAMIBIA PARTICULARLY GIVEN THE FACT THAT THE US IS BRINGING ITS AUTHORITY TO BEAR ON THE SITUATION.

5. CONCERNING RHODESIA, HE WAS LESS SANGUINE, FOR ONE BASIC REASON-- THE DIVISION IN THE POLITICAL RANKS OF THE NATIONALISTS. THESE FEARS ARE EXPRESSED IN THE PAPER WHICH ROGERS IS BRINGING BACK WITH HIM.

6. HE SPENT SOME TIME DISCUSSING THE FAILURE OF THE 1974 EFFORTS AND THE FACT THAT AFRICA HAD NOT UNDERSTOOD THE PURPOSE OF THE TALKS AND ACCUSED NYERERE AND KAUNDA OF AGREEING TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN ESTABLISHMENT OF A "BANDASTAN" IN RHODESIA (AN ALLUSION TO MALAWI). HE CHARACTERIZED THE REASONS FOR THE FAILURE IN 1974 AS (1) THE FACT THAT THE AFRICANS UNDERESTIMATED SMITH AND (2) THE FACT THAT THE NATIONALISTS HAD BEEN SPLIT, WHICH HAS NOT CHANGED. THE NATIONALIST POLITICIANS ARE IN "DISARRAY".

7. FOR THIS REASON, HE, ON BEHALF OF THE OTHER FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, HAS AGREED TO CONVENE A MEETING OF THE FOUR MAJOR POLITICAL FIGURES, I.E., NKOMO, MUZOREWA, SITHOLE, AND MUGABE. HE THOUGHT HE WOULD CALL KAUNDA TODAY AND TRY TO TRACK DOWN THE LEADERS SO THAT THEY COULD MEET AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. HE CHARACTER-IZED THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETING AS AN EFFORT TO UNITE THE POLITICAL LEADERS AT LEAST THROUGH A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD IN RHODESIA, AND TO BURY THEIR POLITICAL DIFFERENCES FOR THE TIME BEING. OTHER-

WISE A MAJOR OPPORTUNITY WOULD BE LOST. HE ANTICIPATES THAT MILITARY LEADERSHIP WILL ALSO BE REPRESENTED.

8. REGARDING THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS, HE SAID THAT THEY STILL WANT POLITICAL LEADERSHIP. BUT IF THE POLITICAL LEADERS ARE UNABLE TO UNITE, THEN THE "BOYS WITH THE GUNS" WILL TAKE OVER. IF THERE IS NO LEADERSHIP OR ONE WHICH IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE MILITARY, THEN A PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM IS HIGHLY

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QUESTIONABLE. IDEALLY, NYERERE SAID, THE POLITICAL LEADERS
WILL UNITE AND TAKE OVER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE.
WHEN WE ASKED IF THEN YOUR OWN TRAVEL PLANS WERE PREMATURE, FIRST
HE SAID YES; THEN HE SAID NO ON NAMIBIA AND YES ON RHODESIA;
BUT FINALLY THOUGHT THAT IT WOULD BE A GOOD IDEA. HE POINTED OUT
THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF NATIONALIST UNITY, SMITH'S FIRST QUESTION
TO SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE: WHO WOULD LEAD THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT?
NYERERE CANNOT NOW VISUALIZE A GOVERNMENT TO REPLACE THE SMITH
GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, THERE IS A CHANCE BUT THE TIME IS NOW AND
THAT IS WHAT HE WOULD TELL THE NATIONALIST LEADERS.

9. WE SAID THAT WE FULLY SHARED HIS VIEW. A COHERENT POLITICAL
LEADERSHIP FOR ZIMBABWE WAS ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL IF THE
TRANSITIONAL ADMINISTRATION WERE TO WORK AND VIOLENCE ENDED.
WE ALSO STRESSED THAT WE HAD NO CANDIDATE FOR LEADERSHIP IN
ZIMBABWE AND DID NOT KNOW THAT WE COULD PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN
ATTEMPTING TO BRING CONTENDING FACTIONS TOGETHER. THEREFORE,
WE WOULD WAIT TO HEAR FROM HIM AS TO WHETHER THERE WERE
SOMETHING THAT WE MIGHT CONSTRUCTIVELY DO IN THIS REGARD.

10. COMMENT: THIS CONVERSATION WAS ESSENTIALLY A CONTINUATION
OF THE LAST MEETING WITH SCHAUFELE AND WE DID NOT DETECT ANY
GREAT DIVERGENCIES. INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH, HE LISTENED TO THE
TALKING POINTS, INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF GUARANTEES, AND DID
NOT ONCE RAISE THIS SUBJECT IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION. AS CAN
BE SEEN IN THE MEMORANDUM WHICH ROGERS IS BRINGING BACK,
THERE WAS STILL CONCERN ABOUT BRITISH MILITARY OR ADMINISTRATIVE
INTERVENTION IN RHODESIA. OUR EXPLANATION HAS PROBABLY ALLAYED
THAT FEAR FOR THE TIME BEING.

11. ROGERS HAS NOT SEEN THE FINAL VERSION OF THIS TELEGRAM BUT
WE DID DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF A MESSAGE FROM YOU TO NYERERE
ON THE BASIS OF OUR MEETING AND I WILL TRANSMIT A DRAFT MESSAGE
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IN A SEPARATE TELEGRAM.

12. MY IMPRESSION IS THAT NYERERE IS PREPARED TO BE MORE
FORCEFUL THAN KAUNDA WITH SWAPO AND THAT HE SUPPORTS YOUR
TRAVEL PLANS. HOWEVER, HE MAY HAVE SOME DOUBTS LATER IF
UNIFICATION EFFORTS FAIL OR ARE INCONCLUSIVE.
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